

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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SUBJ: COMMENT ON GERMAN STUDY OF URBAN BLACK POLITICAL
ATTITUDES IN SOUTH AFRICA

REF: DURBAN 0360

1. REFTEL PROVIDED AN UNCLASSIFIED SUMMARY OF FINDINGS OF A
POLL CONDUCTED ON URBAN BLACK POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN SOWETO,
PRETORIA AND DURBAN. FOLLOWING IS POST COMMENT ON THAT REPORT.

2. REPORT APPEARS FROM HERE TO BE THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE AND
SCIENTIFICALLY CONDUCTED POLL OF URBAN BLACK POLITICAL ATTITUDES
YET UNDERTAKEN IN SOUTH AFRICA. WHILE IT IS NOT WITHOUT SHORT-
COMINGS IT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED ON AN UNBIASED,
RANDOM SAMPLE WITHIN THE FRAME WORK OF THE URBAN AREAS STUDIED.
1,080 PEOPLE IN THREE OF THE FOUR LARGEST BLACK URBAN AREAS
IN SOUTH AFRICA WERE ASKED 36 QUESTIONS PROBING THEIR ATTITUDES
AND PREFERENCES. QUESTIONS WERE DESIGNED BY PROF. LAWRENCE

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SCHLEMMER OF NATAL UNIVERSITY/DURBAN, ONE OF S.A.'S MOST
WIDELY RESPECTED SOCIAL SCIENTISTS. POLLING WAS CONDUCTED
UNDER HIS SUPERVISION BY A PROFESSIONAL COMMERCIAL POLLING
COMPANY UTILIZING BLACK POLLSTERS. THE RAW RESULTS WERE
TRANSMITTED TO THE ARNOLD BERGSTRAESSER INSTITUTE IN WEST
GERMANY WHERE THEY WERE TABULATED BY COMPUTER. THEY WERE THEN
ANALYZED BY THE INSTITUTE, COMPILED IN BOOK FORM AND PRESENTED

AS A DEPARTURE POINT FOR THE "PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE CONFERENCE" HELD BY THE INSTITUTE NEAR FREIBURG JUNE 11-15. THE STUDY IS CURRENTLY IN GERMAN ONLY AND WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE IN ENGLISH FOR AT LEAST THREE MONTHS. HOWEVER POST OBTAINED A COPY FROM PROFESSOR SCHLEMMER AND HAS TRANSLATED THE 50 PAGE SECTION ON BLACK POLITICAL ATTITUDES. IT CONTAINS A WEALTH OF DETAIL ON BLACK ATTITUDES VARIEGATED BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, WEALTH, ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND AREA OF RESIDENCE AND APPEARS TO WARRANT MUCH OF THE LAUDATORY DESCRIPTION ACCORDED BY THE PRESS.

3. THE POLL, HOWEVER, HAS SEVERAL AREAS OF OMISSION WHICH AFFECT ITS COMPLETENESS AS A SURVEY OF BLACK ATTITUDES, OVERALL, OR WHICH TEND TO SKEW FINDINGS RE SUPPORT FOR VARIOUS LEADERS AND GROUPS. FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ITS PURPORTED OBJECTIVE OF ASSESSING URBAN BLACK ATTITUDES, IT IS REMISS IN FAILING TO CANVASS OTHER SIGNIFICANT BLACK URBAN AREAS SUCH AS PORT ELIZABETH OR EAST LONDON. HAD THE EASTERN CAPE XHOSA TOWNSHIPS BEEN INCLUDED (AS THE STUDY ITSELF NOTES), SUPPORT FOR THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT (BCM), THE PAC, AND LEADERS SUCH AS SEBE AND MATANZIMA WOULD HAVE BEEN GREATER AND THAT OF BUTHELEZI AND THE MORE NORTHERN HOMELANDS LEADERS SOMEWHAT SMALLER. THERE IS ALSO THE PROBLEM OF THE STUDY'S RELATIONSHIP TO BLACK ATTITUDES, SA-WIDE -- I.E., POLLS AMONG MORE TRADITIONAL RURAL BLACKS (COMPRISING OVER HALF S.A.'S BLACK POPULATION) WOULD HAVE INCREASED RESULTS IN FAVOR OF BUTHELEZI AND OTHER HOMELAND LEADERS AT THE EXPENSE OF ANC, PAC, BCM, ETC.
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4. THE SUPPORT INDICATED FOR VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS NEEDS ALSO TO BE VIEWED IN LIGHT OF THEIR CIRCUMSTANCES AT THE TIME. THE ANC AND PAC, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE BEEN EXILED FOR MANY YEARS AND PRECLUDED FROM OVERT POLITICIZING OR ORGANIZING. IN ADDITION TO THIS IMPEDIMENT IT IS POSSIBLE SOME RESPONDENTS WERE FEARFUL OF EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THEM OUT OF SUSPICION THEIR RESPONSES WOULD BE MADE KNOWN TO THE POLICE. THIS WOULD TEND TO LOWER THEIR PERCENTAGE TOTALS (A POSSIBILITY SCHLEMMER CONCEDES). ON THE OTHER HAND THE BCM WAS POLITICALLY ACTIVE AT THE TIME OF SURVEY AND WAS AT THE PEAK OF ITS INFLUENCE. SCHLEMMER ATTRIBUTED ITS POOR SHOWING (BIKO WAS RECOGNIZED AS A LEADER BY ONLY 0.8 PERCENT OF THOSE POLLED AS OPPOSED TO 2.1 PERCENT FOR TSIETSI MASHININI AND 0.2 PERCENT FOR BISHIP MANAS BUTHELEZI) TO BLACK RESENTMENT AGAINST DISRUPTIONS CAUSED BY THE YOUNG STUDENTS, WHICH MANY ASSOCIATED WITH BCM. THERE WAS RELATIVELY STRONG SUPPORT INDICATED FOR CERTAIN HOMELAND LEADERS OTHER THAN BUTHELEZI AND SOME LEADERS, SUCH AS CEDERIC PHATUDI (6.4 PERCENT) AND FOR PROFESSOR NTSANWISI (4 PERCENT) POLLED HIGHER THAN BCM LEADERS. ON THE OTHER HAND TRANSKEI'S KAISER MATANZIMA WAS PREFERRED BY ONLY 3.6 PERCENT AND 2.7 PERCENT CHOSE BOPHUTHATSWANA'S LUCAS MANGOPE, A SEEMING REJECTION

OF THE CONCEPT OF HOMELANDS INDEPENDENCE AS PRESENTLY
CONCEIVED.

5. CONCLUSION: THE BERGSTRAESSER STUDY HAS ITS GREY AREAS,
NOT LEAST OF WHICH IS THE UNADDRESSED QUESTION OF HOW BLACK
ATTITUDES MAY HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER 1977
AND SUBSEQUENTLY. HOWEVER, IT DOES PROVIDE VALUABLE AND
INTERESTING INSIGHT INTO A SEGMENT OF BLACK ATTITUDES AS OF
THE TIME OF SURVEY, AND TO THE EXTENT AN EXPRESSION OF LARGER
THAN EXPECTED URBAN BLACK SUPPORT FOR CHIEF BUTHELEZI EMERGED,
IT IS AN INTERESTING MEASURING STICK FOR THE FUTURE.
FARBER

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